



Pliny and the Wandering Mountain – A new interpretation of Pliny’s account of the northern Barbaricum with an archaeological comment

Grane, Thomas

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Pliny and the wandering mountain

A new interpretation of Pliny's account of the northern Barbaricum with an archaeological comment

by THOMAS GRANE

Abstract. This paper aims to present a new view on the Roman knowledge of the northern Barbaricum as derived from the work of Pliny the Elder. His Natural History, paragraphs 4.94-7 is the most comprehensive description of the coastal regions of Barbaricum from the Scythian regions in the East to the Rhine in the West. The approach of earlier investigations going back to the late nineteenth century have primarily been to focus on the most important place names, rather than the text as a whole. This has led to fragmented interpretations, where the context of the place names has been sacrificed. By providing an archaeological perspective to this discussion through an analysis of both archaeological and literary data from the first century AD, it is possible to deconstruct the traditional interpretations of Pliny's text and to provide a new and different interpretation, which has shown that it is possible to read Pliny's text in the order it appears without fragmenting an otherwise coherent narrative.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to present a new interpretation of Pliny's the Elder's account of the northern *Barbaricum* and to introduce archaeological evidence to the discussion. When it comes to the literary sources to the geography and ethnography of northern Europe, that is to say the Baltic and Scandinavia, many interpretations going back to the turn of the twentieth century still prevail. Over the years, only a handful of scholars have dedicated parts of their research to the interpretation of the sources to the North, but mostly with an inherent acceptance that earlier interpretations were essentially correct. This also applied to me, when I first came to work with this subject.¹ Closer scrutiny and the inclusion of archaeological evidence, however, have led me to believe that a revision of the interpretations is needed. One important aspect of previous examinations of Pliny's text has been a focus on individual place names on the expense of an understanding of the narrative. Although

the text is approached from beginning to end by the various scholars, a severe focus on individual place names has fragmented the presentation due to a rearrangement of the locations in the narrative.

The first part of the article will be an examination of the text with a focus on Pliny's narrative. I will demonstrate that it is possible to follow the text from the beginning to the end. In the second part, I will present the archaeological evidence from Scandinavia indicating contacts to the Romans, which can be dated to the period from the first real encounter between the Romans and northern *Barbaricum* until the publication of the *Naturalis Historia*.

Through a comparison of the results of the two examinations, I will present, what I believe will be a more coherent image of the state of knowledge of the northern *Barbaricum* in the 70s AD.

Pliny the Elder and the Naturalis Historia

Our most extensive source to the geography

of northern *Germania* is Pliny the Elder. In AD 77, he published the *Naturalis Historia*, an encyclopaedia in 37 volumes.² The work was dedicated to the later Emperor Titus, who was greeted in a lengthy *praefatio* (Plin. *NH praef.* 1). This opus was concerned with everything known to man, or as he puts it, “*rerum natura, hoc est vita, narratur*” or “Nature, that is, life, is my subject” (Plin. *NH praef.* 13).³ To be more precise, the work was divided into topics, such as the Cosmos, Geography, human beings, animals of land, water and air, insects and anatomy, plants, medicine and minerals.⁴ Book 1 consisted of a list of contents and a list of his sources for each book. In the *praefatio*, Pliny states that his work is based on the readings of 20.000 excerpts from 2.000 volumes written by 100 *exquisiti auctores*, or ‘select authorities’. A count by K. Sallmann revealed that he was in fact using the works of 146 Roman and 327 Greek authors. Possibly, the 100 authors referred to, were those he had consulted personally (Plin. *NH praef.* 17).⁵

The topic of the geography of the world covers books 3 to 6. It is organized in the form of a *periplus*, i.e. “circumnavigation”, a description of landmarks and sea routes etc. Pliny, however, extends this somewhat in as much as he also describes different inland regions, but always with a departure in the *periplus* form. Pliny makes two journeys. The first starts out in book 3 in southern Spain and follows the coastline eastwards along the northern Mediterranean coastline. By the end of book 3, he has reached the Balkans. In the middle of book 4, he reaches the northwestern part of the Black Sea and from there, he takes his description north past the Ripaeian Ridge to the *Oceanus Septentrionalis* or Northern Ocean. From there, he continues west along the coast all the way down to the city of Cádiz. In the second journey, which constitutes books 5 and 6, he follows the coast of North Africa, moves up to Asia Minor, along the southern shores of the Black Sea, through the Sea of Azov, by way of Caucasus and the Caspian Sea all the way to China and back via India, the Persian Gulf, Ethiopia and the Canary islands.⁶

Pliny's description of northern Europe

Our main focus here, however, is book 4, paragraphs 94 to 97, where he describes the coastal zone of the northern *Barbaricum* as far west as to the Dutch islands in the North Sea. (See appendix 1 for the full Latin text with an English translation by the author.) As mentioned, Pliny compiled information from a great number of sources, whom he often refers to in the text. In the first paragraphs 94 and 95, he mentions a number of Greek geographers and explorers. This part also contains elements of Greek mythological perceptions.⁷ Furthermore, the use of Greek sources is visible through Pliny's use of place names deriving from Greek rather than Latin such as the Ripaeian Ridge, a name that derives from Greek geographical tradition.⁸

Other sources were more recent. In the last two paragraphs 96 and 97, no older sources are mentioned, and the information appears to be clearer to Pliny. One recent source that was available to Pliny was the *De Chorographia* by the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela (Plin. *NH* 1. lib.VI). This work was written in the early 40s AD, at a time when Pliny was on his way to the Germanic frontier as a military officer. His experiences in the army also provided him with information on the region. That he took an early interest, we know, as he wrote a work on the Germanic wars. One military action during the conquest of *Germania*, which would have contributed to the knowledge of the northern waters, occurred in AD 5, when a naval expedition ventured into unknown waters along the coast of Jutland (Plin. *NH* 2.167).⁹ Several modern scholars believe that his source to this expedition was the geographer Philemon.¹⁰ This expedition and the outcome of it was of such great importance to the Emperor Augustus that he included it in his testament, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Aug. *Res Ges.* 26.2.4). We are also given an “eyewitness” account of this event by Velleius Paterculus (Vell. *Pat.* 2.106). He was serving as a cavalry prefect in *Germania* under the general Tiberius, who was responsible for the fleet expedition. A

source to the Baltic region contemporary to Pliny was a Roman equestrian, who visited the Baltic Coast to buy amber for Nero (Plin. *NH* 37.45). Although Pliny does not mention him as a source, I doubt that he would not have used any information that might have arrived in Rome with the equestrian. As it was the custom for Greek and Roman authors, Pliny only refers to well-known sources. In fact, in the four paragraphs of interest, he only refers to “canonical” Greek sources. Yet, there is no doubt that he would also have made use of more ordinary and anonymous sources such as military intelligence, emissaries, hostages, archives or merchants.¹¹

No literary sources to the ancient North are unequivocal, and I must stress that any attempts will meet problematic place names that are difficult to fit in. Regarding these four paragraphs, in which Pliny mentions 24 place names and nine names of peoples, scholars generally believe that Pliny treats his sources confusingly.¹² It is my opinion that this is partly due to the fact that early interpretations of a few important place names were not questioned by later research.

Paragraph 4.94

Exeundum deinde est, ut extera Europae dicantur, transgressisque Ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum. insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante Scythiam quae appellatur Baunonia unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, Timaeus prodidit. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceani. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum.

Pliny starts by explaining that he will move across the Ripaeian Mountains in order to follow the coastline of the Northern Ocean in a western direction down to Cádiz. He

tells us that the existence of several islands are reported, of which one is called *Baunonia*, where amber is found. This island is one day’s voyage away from the Scythian coast. Otherwise, knowledge of these parts is vague. A river, *Parapanisus*, washes into the Amalchian Sea, which means ‘frozen’ in the native tongue.

The previous paragraph 4.93 ended with a description of various islands in the Black Sea in the vicinity of the mouth of the river *Borysthenes*, or Dnieper (Plin. *NH* 4.93). Therefore, this seems a good starting point for our transgression of the Ripaeian Mountains. If we follow the Dnieper from the Black Sea, we reach the River Daugava/Dvina flowing into the Bay of Riga. This is a candidate for the *Parapanisus*, as these two rivers were part of an ancient trade route.¹³ *Baunonia* could be the island of Saaremaa in the mouth of the bay. The information on *Baunonia* comes from Timaeus.

Svennung, in his own translation, relates “quae appellatur Baunonia” to “Scythia”. He believes *Baunonia* should translate to an adjective “bean-”, that is, “Scythia, which is called Bean-country”. For that reason there are no named islands. Furthermore, these islands are to be found in the North Sea.¹⁴ Lennartz draws attention to Pliny’s description of amber in book 37. Here, he mentions that Pytheas talks about an island *Abalus* outside the *Aestuarium Metuonis*, which is similarly described i.e. one day’s sail away and amber is found. This island is called *Basilis* by Timaeus (Plin. *NH* 37.35). For that reason, Lennartz introduces an island called *Balcia* (mentioned by Pliny in the next paragraph 4.95), which Pytheas calls *Basilis*. Lastly, Lennartz refers to islands known by the Roman army (mentioned in the last paragraph, 4.97), of which the most famous has no less than five names. One of these is *Glaesaria* and refers to amber. In Lennartz’ view, all these islands are one and the same. And with an identification of the *Aestuarium Metuonis* as an old Elbe estuary, it follows that it must be one of the Frisian Islands in the North Sea.¹⁵ Also Timpe

reaches a similar conclusion. The fact that two islands are called *Basilia*, though by different sources, indicates that it is the same island, and probably Helgoland (Fig. 1).¹⁶

Paragraph 4.95

Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat. feruntur et Oeoniae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.

The following paragraph begins with a problematic sentence, “Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad Promunturium Rusbeas...”. The words “a Cimbris” have been translated in two ways, as “from the Cimbri” and “by the Cimbri”. In the first case, the translation is: “According to Philemon, *Morimarus*, that is the “Dead Sea”, stretches from the *Cimbri* and all the way to the Rusbean Promontory...”. This translation identifies the sea as some body of water between the homeland of the *Cimbri*, presumably northern Jutland, and the Rusbean Promontory identified as Kap Lindesnes, the southern tip of Norway.¹⁷

In the other case, the translation is: “According to Philemon it (the Amalchian Sea) is called *Morimarus* by the Cimbri from that point (the River *Parapanisus*) and all the way to the Rusbean promontory...”.¹⁸ This means that there are two names, a local and a Cimbrian, indicating that this particular body of water is not situated near the *Cimbri*, but rather that the information comes from a Cimbrian source. Some even mix the two interpretations

by accepting the second translation, but placing the sea near the *Cimbri*.¹⁹ Following the second interpretation, a natural possibility for the Amalchian Sea/*Morimarus* would be the Gulf of Finland, which does freeze over regularly. The Cimbrian name would have come from a Cimbrian merchant, who had travelled through the region. One argument in favour of the second translation is based on the text itself. The next paragraph begins with “From there on clearer information begins to be available”. If the *Morimarus* Sea were to be found in the vicinity of northern Jutland, there is no reason, why it should be presented in a paragraph, where Pliny himself believes that the information is vague. Certainly, the information comes from his youngest source, Philemon, who is believed to have been in the vicinity of Jutland in the beginning of the first century AD.

Pliny’s narrative continues with information derived from Xenophon of *Lampsacus* about the immense island of *Balcia* three day’s voyage away from the Scythian coast, also called *Basilia* by Pytheas. After that, he brings forward some mythical fables about strange peoples. Solinus, a third century compiler, who is using Pliny comprehensively, even states that *Balcia* is the size of a continent (Solin. *Coll.Re.Mem.* 19.6). The most obvious candidate would be central Sweden, particularly Svealand, which is situated directly across the Baltic Sea from the bay of Riga. Some scholars, however, have identified *Balcia* as the minute island of Helgoland or one of the other islands in the German Bay despite the particular reference by Pliny/Solinus to its size. One reason is that some of the information should have derived from Pytheas. This is problematic, as he is as disputed among modern scholars as he was among ancient geographers, therefore some deny that he could have been in the Baltic Sea on his way home, while others insist on it.²⁰ The argument for those scholars, who believe that Pytheas could not have been in the Baltic Sea, is that *Balcia* must be situated in the North Sea. This is supported by the link to the Pythean island of *Abalus* as

discussed above. Furthermore, they believe that references to an island like *Baunonia* and *Balcia/Basilia* all refer to the same island. It is simply a question of Pliny mixing up his sources.²¹ As the island is now situated in the North Sea, there is no reason to look for an island as big as a continent, because there are none. Considering the presentation of Pliny's sources above and his treatment of them, I find it difficult to either accept or reject any information presented by Pliny based solely on a discussion of, where his named Greek sources may or may not have travelled. Pytheas, Xenophon and Timaeus are all well-known to the Roman society, for whom the text is written. A source mix up on Pliny's part is simply too vague an argument to make a big island disappear. There are others, though, who equal *Balcia* with a part or all of the Scandinavian Peninsula and as an older name for *Scatinavia*, mentioned in the next paragraph.²²

Paragraph 4.96

Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, inmensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, inmanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia, incopertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. nec minor est opinione Aeningia.

This paragraph holds the most crucial information pertaining to the overall interpretation of Pliny's text. According to Pliny, we now enter into clearer accounts, in which we meet the first group of Germanic peoples, the *Inguaeones*. In a later paragraph, Pliny tells us that the *Inguaeones* consist of the *Cimbri*, *Teutoni* and *Chauci* (Plin. NH 4.99). Solinus, basically relying on Pliny, refers to the *Inguaeones* as the first after the *Scythians* (Solin.

Coll.Re.Mem. 20.1). Where the *Inguaeones* live, is also where we find the *Saevo* Mountain.²³ In Solinus' text, the description of *Germania* begins with *Saevo*, which is next to *Scythia* (Solin. *Coll.Re.Mem.* 20.1). Pliny describes it as no less immense than the mythical Ripaeian Ridge. The *Saevo* Mountain forms an enormous bay all the way to the Cimbrian Promontory. This bay is called the Codan bay. Of this description, the easiest part to decipher is the Cimbrian Promontory. This is identified as the peninsula of Jutland and is supported by the references to the Augustan naval expedition mentioned above.

The Saevo Mountain and the Codan Bay

The other extremity of the Codan Bay, the *Saevo* Mountain, however, is not so obvious. In the beginning of the twentieth century, this question was still debated, but the dominant opinion was that this mountain should be found in Norway, as no hills or mountain ridges worthy of the adjective 'immense' could be found in the coastal regions of the Baltic Sea.²⁴ An alternative to the traditional view was given by J.V. Svensson, who suggested a relation of the word "Saevo" to the gothic word "saiws" meaning "sea". Svensson suggested that the most probable site was the Baltic Ridge including the Pomeranian and Masurian Lake Districts consisting of thousands of lakes stretching from the root of Jutland to the Baltic States. This ridge is a few hundred metres high at the most, but stretches out over hundreds of square kilometres. Thereby "immense" would mean "wide stretching" and not "high".²⁵ This interpretation was rejected by J. Svennung, who identified *Saevo* as a Norwegian mountain named Siggjo. This mountain is 473m high and is situated approximately 200km up the Norwegian west coast. Although Svennung stated that the comparison to the Ripaeian Mountains suggests that Pliny specifically thought of the *Saevo* Mountain as a ridge rather than a mountain top, he concluded that Pliny had clearly been mistaken, since *Mons Saevo* must be identified as the Siggjo Mountain.²⁶



Fig. 1 The traditional interpretation of Pliny 4.94-97 (photo: author).

Furthermore, Norway had the advantage of being a natural counter point to Jutland, as one extremity of the Codan bay. Svensson's suggestion, however, included the fact that the bay was formed by the mountain ridge such as the use of the Latin word "efficit" describes. According to the Latin dictionary *Lewis and Short*, this word, "efficio", among other things translates to "make out", "work out", "complete", "make" or "form". An example of its use comes from Caesar, who uses "efficit" in a quite similar geographical context in his *de Bello Gallico*; "Mosa...insulam efficit Batavorum" meaning "the river Meuse...forms the island of the Batavians" (Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 4.10.2).²⁷ In this case, there is no doubt that this verb indicates that the river runs along one side, representing the edge of the island. Nevertheless, scholars working with these matters have all placed the *Saevo* Mountain in Norway.²⁸ Since the *Saevo*

Mountain was found in Norway, it follows that the *Inguaeones* lived in Norway, Denmark (the *Cimbri*) and northwestern Germany (the *Chauci*). This interpretation also supports the assumption that Pliny means northernmost, when he states that the *Inguaeones* are the first of the Germanic peoples. What we know about the *Cimbri* and the *Chauci* is that they lived near the Ocean. The *Tentoni* have never convincingly been attributed to any particular region, and for some reason, no modern scholars have seriously considered Pomponius Mela's report that they lived on *Scadinavia* (Pompon. 3.54). In my opinion, there is no reason to assume that the *Inguaeones* are restricted to the West and not to the entire Ocean zone, and in fact Alonso-Núñez even makes a point of noting that Tacitus finds the *Inguaeones* along the Ocean, even though Pliny places them in Norway.²⁹ Certainly, this makes sense, if we follow the direction of Pliny's narrative.

It is clear that particularly the placement of the *Saevo* Mountain in Norway has had an important impact on the different interpretations (Fig. 1). The consequence is that none of the locations mentioned prior to the *Saevo* Mountain can be situated in the Baltic Sea. As it is impossible to locate suitable places for all names, the conclusion is that Pliny must have confused his sources using different names for the same features. The most obvious example is given above concerning the islands of *Baunonia* and *Balcia/Basilis*.

The wandering mountain

There are more indications than Svensson's suggestion, however, that point towards the eastern Baltic as the location for the *Saevo* Mountain. First of all, the direction of the narrative, but also the identification of the *Inguaeones* as peoples living along the coast, rather than in Norway and the west alone. And if we should include other ancient descriptions of *Germania* in a search for any mountains in the northeast corner of *Germania*, we could take a look at the map descriptions of Ptolemy from the middle of the second century AD. An examination of his description for a map of *Germania*, however, will not make us any the wiser (Ptol. *Geog.* 2.11). In the work of Ptolemy as well as in Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia* (3.33), the boundary between *Germania* and *Sarmatia* is believed, at least in part, to be the river *Vistula*. In Pliny's account, this river is not mentioned until the next paragraph. Although one of my points is that it is possible to follow Pliny's narrative and still get an comprehensible picture of the Northern Ocean, it is important to note that this information tell us that, when Pliny reaches the *Saevo* Mountain in his narrative, he is still presumably east of the river *Vistula*. With regard to the works of the other ancient authors, we are in *Sarmatia*. Now, if we look at Ptolemy's description of his map of the adjacent region, *Sarmatia Europaea*, we will find the Venedian Mountains exactly in the north-western corner (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.5). This

means that a mountain that was situated in a territory believed to be a part of *Germania* in the second half of the first century AD, had wandered into *Sarmatia* during the first half of the second century AD, i.e. the *Saevo* Mountain became the Venedian Mountains. But even though Ptolemy places mountains in the eastern Baltic coastal region, this region still has no real mountains. Just as Pliny's description can be debated, so can Ptolemy's information. But whereas we cannot know, where Pliny himself thought the *Saevo* Mountain was situated, so Ptolemy's use of longitude and latitude makes it perfectly clear, where he believed the Venedian Mountains were supposed to be. Ptolemy's map of *Sarmatia Europaea* was never dragged into the discussion of the *Saevo* Mountain, probably because that was a discussion concerning *Germania*, but from Pliny's text, it must be clear that he did not place the boundary dividing *Germania* and *Sarmatia* at the *Vistula* River, such as ancient authors both before and after him did.

Scatinavia

The last important information that we get in paragraph 4.96 is that the Codan Bay is full of islands and that the largest of these is *Scatinavia*. Therefore, the Codan Bay has been identified as parts of or all the bodies of water surrounding the Danish islands down to the Baltic Sea.

Scatinavia is mentioned already by Pomponius Mela, according to whom the *Teutoni* inhabit the island (Pompon. 3.54). Pliny tells us that it is of unknown size and occupied by the peoples of the *Hilleviones* in 500 *pagi*, which would be translated to something like "communities". This island was identified as the Scandinavian Peninsula already in the late nineteenth century as is clear from a statement by D. Detlefsen:

Dass auch Scatinavia, d. i. Südschweden zu diesen Inseln mitgerechnet wird, kann nicht auffallen, da noch Tacitus, der zwar diesen Namen nicht kennt, die

Staaten der Suiones, d. i. der Schweden, als in oceano, also auf einer Insel liegend, bezeichnet (Germ. 44).³⁰

The fact that the literary sources mention an island is attributed to an erroneous Roman perception, as they were not aware of the peninsular nature of that region.³¹ As the *Hilleviones* are mentioned nowhere else, it was suggested that it was a transcription error, “Hillevionum gente” being a misspelling of “illa Suionum gente” meaning “the famous Suionic people”.³² The *Suiones* are only mentioned by Tacitus in his work on *Germania* from AD 98. He describes an organized society ruled by a king, where arms are kept under lock, as the *Suiones* are protected from sudden attacks on all sides by the Ocean (Tac. Germ. 44.1-2). This people is directly linked by modern scholars to the later *Svear*, the eponym people of Svealand (the Swedish regions around Stockholm, including Uppland, Fig 3), who became dominant in the early Middle Age consequently giving name to the whole country. This is already reflected in the quote above by Detlefsen, and is confirmed by later scholars.³³

In my opinion, there is, unfortunately, little to support the theory that the origin for these names is to be found in Svealand, as appealing as it may be. Were it not for the resemblance of the words *Suiones* and *Svear*, I doubt this discussion would have existed at all. Tacitus’ description alone makes it improbable, as he describes an island society, in which weapons are locked away, because enemies will come from the sea, and thus be visible long before they can attack. This is a description that does not fit well with any part of the Scandinavian Peninsula, let alone Svealand. It is clear that an acceptance of the *Hilleviones* as a misspelling of the *Suiones* and the inherent assumption that they are the same as the later *Svear* has the consequence that this people can only originate from Central Sweden. Although accepting these interpretations, several scholars place *Scatinavia* in southern Sweden or in the region of Scania. This region,

however, has nothing to do with the *Svear*, whose home is found almost 500 km to the north on the other side of the large southern Swedish forests.³⁴ *Scatinavia*’s place in Pliny’s narrative suggests that it is known of from eastern sources probably coming through the amber route from the *Vistula* delta. For that reason, a likely candidate is Gotland, where large amounts of Roman objects are found throughout the Roman Iron Age from the beginning to the end. One obvious problem with Gotland is that *Scatinavia* is described as of unknown size. At the same time, however, this speaks against the identification of the *Hilleviones* as the *Suiones*. Possibly, some of the information that Pliny presents, rather regards *Balcia* than *Scatinavia*.

Paragraph 4.97

Quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipenum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris. promunturium Cimbrorum excurrens in maria longe paeninsulam efficit, quae Tastris appellatur. XXIII inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae. Earum nobilissimae Burcana, Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis multitudine sponte provenientis, item Glaesaria a sucino militiae appellata, barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actania.

In the last paragraph, Pliny returns to the coast with, what must be interpreted as a closer description of the Codan Bay. In the first sentence, he states that the lands all the way to the River *Vistula* are inhabited by *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri*. Considering the narrative, this must mean the lands from the *Saevo* Mountain to the river *Vistula*. The water along this stretch is a bay called *Cylipennus*, in which the island of *Latris* is situated. The *Vistula* River was one of the few rivers well-known to the Romans (Plin. NH 4.100), so the identification as the Vistla River is neither difficult nor debated. If we once again look

to Ptolemy's map of *Sarmatia Europaea*, the lands immediately east of the *Vistula* River are inhabited by the Venedi and the waters are called the Venedian Bay, corresponding to the Gdansk Basin (Ptol. *Geog.*3.5). That the area immediately east of the *Vistula* River was thought by some to be part of *Germania* is also supported by Tacitus' description of the *Veneti*, whom he ultimately decides should be considered Germanic.³⁵ The *Cylipenus* bay is followed by the *Lagnus* Bay, which borders on the lands of the *Cimbri*. Thereafter comes the Cimbrian Promontory with a peninsula named *Tastris*. For the location of the two bays and the island of *Latris* there have been a number of suggestions over time, most of them in one way or the other related to an identification of the Cimbrian Promontory as Jutland with *Tastris* as the tip and the Codan Bay as Kattegat, the body of water between Denmark and Sweden, or all bodies of water between the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. For instance, the *Cylipenus* Bay has been identified as Kattegat and the *Lagnus* Bay as the strait between Jutland and Funen and vice versa and *Latris* as both the island of Zealand and the island of Lolland.³⁶ K. Lennartz argues that all these place names including the Cimbrian Promontory should be found south of the Danish islands, as the Danish waters and islands have already been mentioned as the Codan Bay with *Scatinavia* and surrounding islands. Strangely enough, this was not a problem, when he was dealing with the *Baunonia/Balcia* issue. Instead he finds all these bays and islands on and around the north German island of Rügen in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The argument for the relation to the *Cimbri* is that they went past on their way south in the second century BC.³⁷

In my opinion, the *Cylipenus* Bay must be the eastern part of the Codan Bay going from present-day Lithuania, including the Venedian Bay of Ptolemy and continuing all the way to the island of Rügen in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. In this case, the only suitable candidate for *Latris* is the island of Bornholm. That bay is followed by the *Lagnus* Bay, which

goes all the way from Rügen to the Cimbrian Peninsula or Jutland with the protruding *Tastris*. An alternative to the identification of *Tastris* as the tip of Jutland could be the peninsula of Djursland, which protrudes in a westerly direction approximately in the middle of Jutland.

Finally, the Cimbrian Promontory is followed by 23 islands that are well-known to the Romans from military actions. Reaching well known territory just north of the Rhine, Pliny hereby finishes the description of the Northern Ocean.

The archaeological evidence

To compare the information gained from archaeological sources, we need to study the image that Roman finds in Scandinavia provide us up to the time of the completion of the *Naturalis Historia* in AD 77. Of course, Roman objects do not in themselves represent direct contact to the Romans, but their distribution patterns can give an indication of which regions may have experienced more interaction. One Roman object, the *gladius* or short sword, was highly appealing to Germanic warriors everywhere providing a special distribution, into which Roman contacts are difficult to read. Therefore, the focus will primarily be on vessels. Just as Pliny's narrative could be divided in an older and a younger part, so this material falls in two groups. An early group of vessels of Celtic and Etruscan origin were deposited in the North either in bogs or in graves at a considerable age, sometimes several centuries old during the Celtic Iron Age. Another group of vessels of Roman origin begin to appear in the last century BC and the transition to the Roman Iron Age around the birth of Christ. Unlike earlier, there is now a relatively short period of time from production to deposition.³⁸ It is this later group, which will be presented in the following.

Scandinavia

During the reign of Augustus, the Romans approached northern *Germania* for the



Fig. 2. Germanic elite grave from Hoby on Lolland dated to B1a (AD 1-40) (photo: The Danish National Museum/Lennart Larsen).



Fig. 3. Finds of Roman vessels from periods A to B1, first century BC to AD 70. See appendix 2 for a list of sites shown on figure 3 (photo: based on Lund Hansen 1987 and Andersson 2001).



Fig. 4. Roman bronze basin type Eggers 92. This vessel was donated in the nineteenth century to the Museum in Odense by a private collector from the island of Funen. Missing are the loose ring handles in openwork palmetto attachments (photo: Jens Gregers Aagaard, Odense Bys Museer).



Fig. 5. Hedegård, grave A 4103. Pugio of the Dunaföldvár type (photo: Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev /Steen Hendriksen).

first time. This is clearly reflected in the archaeological remains, as the number of Roman artefacts east of the Rhine rises considerably. The Roman conquest of *Germania* was initiated in 12 BC and ended *de facto* with the disaster in AD 9, when the governor Quintilius Varus was ambushed and his three legions annihilated in the dense forests of *Germania* (Vell. Pat. 2.118-9). The early part of the military campaigns was led by Augustus' stepson Drusus. After his untimely death in 9 BC, the campaigns slowly came to a halt. This is also attested in the archaeological material.³⁹ Drusus reached as far as the Elbe, and possibly we can see an impact of this in the regions of the lower Elbe. This is indicated by Roman material from the regions of Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern as presented in volumes 3 and 5 of the *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum*.⁴⁰ Particularly late Republican bronze cauldrons with iron rim could indicate such a contact.⁴¹ The later part of the military campaigns was led by the later emperor Tiberius in the early years AD. As we know from the literary sources described above, a Roman fleet reached at least Jutland in AD 5. How far this expedition actually went is another question.

The turn of the century marks the transition from the Celtic to the Roman Iron Age, as Roman produced objects now appear more regularly in graves. Some of these are inhumation graves, a custom that had not been in use since the Neolithic Age. The focus here will be on the first period of the Early Roman Iron Age, B1 (AD 1-70), which corresponds well with the limit set by the publication year of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. Period B1 is subdivided into B1a constituting the first four decades and B1b constituting the last three decades. The most famous example of a grave from this period from Scandinavia is the Hoby grave from Lolland (Fig. 2).⁴² This is one of the richest Germanic graves from this time. Not only is there a large number of Roman banquet vessels, but it is also furnished with valuable local objects such as gold finger rings

and silver *fibulae*. The highlights of the grave goods, however, are the two silver cups of the highest quality that Augustan craftsmanship had to offer. Both cups were supplied with an inscription on the bottom of the name 'Silius', a name borne by the commander of the Upper Rhine army from AD 14-21.⁴³ In Scandinavia, graves from B1a with Roman objects are limited to Denmark (Fig. 3).⁴⁴ A total of twenty three Roman objects derive from ten graves from western and southern Denmark. With a few exceptions all of the graves were situated near the coast.⁴⁵ An interesting aspect is that seven out of the ten graves contained a bronze basin of the type Eggers 92 (Fig. 4), while two of the last three contained different types of basins. This is interesting as the three remaining graves each are particular in their own way. One grave at Bendstrup Mark contained as the only Roman objects four feet and some discs from a krater, an object otherwise completely unknown in the North.⁴⁶ The second was a cremation grave from Hedegård containing a basin and a *pugio* or Roman dagger. Unlike the Roman sword, which is common in Germanic contexts, the *pugio* is very rarely found. Thus, the example from Hedegård has only two parallels outside the Roman Empire. As this particular weapon is intrinsically related to the Roman army, the discovery of one in a Germanic grave is a strong indication that the person, who was buried, had a link to the Roman army in some way (Fig. 5).⁴⁷ The third grave, is the inhumation grave from Hoby mentioned above.

The dominating Roman vessel, the basin E92, was one of the larger bronze vessels of the time produced in Capua.⁴⁸ This vessel is chronologically fixed to the Augustan/Tiberian period through its presence at the important military site of Haltern at the Lippe River. This river was an important water way stretching into *Germania* opposite the Roman Rhine camp at Xanten. This vessel is also found in a Gallic elite grave at Fontillet, Dép. Cher, of the same date.⁴⁹ The youngest example was found in Colchester in a Claudian

post-conquest context.⁵⁰

In the next three decades, AD 40-70, constituting period B1b, the amount of vessels deposited in Scandinavia diminishes. While the Danish material is constituted by 12 vessels from four graves, only three sites with as many objects on the Scandinavian Peninsula can be firmly dated to this period, B1b (Fig. 3).⁵¹ One of these sites is even situated in the Swedish region of Scania, which historically and culturally has been much more oriented towards Zealand, as it was separated by vast forests from the northern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula,

A few sites can only loosely be attributed to period 1B, but the pattern shows that only a handful of vessels found their way to Sweden and Norway, while twice that amount is found on the Danish islands.⁵²

Continental Barbaricum

A larger number of objects of a Roman origin found in the coastal regions of the Baltic Sea in Germany and Poland can be attributed to B1.⁵³ Most impressive are the finds from Lübsow/Lubieszewo in Poland.⁵⁴ This eponym site of elite graves constitutes the first elite centre in *Germania*, lasting several generations. Along with a number of other elite graves from this region, they show an impressive presence of Roman luxury objects, which may possibly be connected to Roman diplomatic efforts towards selected Germanic tribes following the conclusion of the Roman punitive campaigns in *Germania* in AD 16.

Let us now briefly return to the matter of the bronze basin E92. For it does not only stand out in its presence in Denmark. This vessel type is found in three other clusters in Germanic *Barbaricum*. In Bohemia, exemplified by the find of an almost complete vessel in an inhumation grave at Prague-Bubeneč, remains of nine vessels belong to graves from the Augustan/Tiberian period.⁵⁵ Also in Moravia and western Slovakia just north of Roman *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg) on the Danube, we find a few remains of the E92 basin.⁵⁶ When viewed through a wider

scope, the evidence of Roman imports in general in these two areas in the first half of the first century AD indicates a shift in focus from Bohemia to Moravia and western Slovakia.⁵⁷ This was exemplified by J. Tejral through the distribution pattern of Roman *trullae* or cooking pans. He demonstrated that the proportion between Augustan and post-Augustan cooking pans in Bohemia was 6,5:1, while in the regions just north of *Carnuntum*, the ratio was 1:4.⁵⁸ This fits well with our knowledge of the whereabouts of the Marcomannic tribe in the early years AD.⁵⁹ The last concentration is found in the river landscape of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, more accurately, in a north-eastern line from the Elbe up to the modern town of Stralsund. On this stretch, four graves had been furnished with an E92 basin.⁶⁰



Fig. 6. The distribution of the basin Eggers 92 in northern Germania and the possible route of a Roman expeditionary fleet (photo: author).

Eggers 92 and the Roman expeditionary fleet

As mentioned above, the presence of a Roman object is not in itself positive evidence of direct contact. On the other hand, few scholars dispute that the appearance of clusters of

Roman luxury objects within *Germania* do suggest that certain Roman interests may have been at play.⁶¹ Let us briefly return to the question of the basin E92. When we look at a map of the distribution of this vessel in northern *Germania* (Fig. 6), we can follow a string of graves that indicate a route that circumnavigates the Peninsula of Jutland and returns to the Elbe from the Baltic Sea through the small streams of the Mecklenburgian and Pomeranian Lake Districts. In AD 14, Gaius Silius was appointed commander of four legions stationed in Mainz. That he is linked to the Hoby cups through his name is generally accepted.⁶² His entry on the Germanic stage is also connected to the campaigns of Germanicus and the attempt to catch Arminius, the culprit of the Varian disaster. As far as we know of Germanicus' campaigns, the army probably did not pass the Weser River at any point (Tac. *Ann.* 1.31-2.26). The home of the Hoby chieftain was situated more than 200km from the Weser. The question is, whether Silius was closer to Hoby at any time before AD 14? We know nothing of Silius' military positions prior to his consulship in AD 13. Since he was appointed commander of the four legions of the Upper Rhine army the following year, it is fair to speculate, whether he had served in *Germania* before. Did his previous merits in fact include a command of a Roman expeditionary fleet that had circumnavigated Jutland in AD 5? And doing so on the orders of Tiberius, was he in charge of making friendships for Rome with local chieftains presenting gifts particularly in the shape of a large and rare type of vessel, the basin E92? And did he ultimately for reasons unknown offer his own silver drinking cups of the finest Augustan craftsmanship to a chieftain on Lolland? It is a long list of speculations providing us with an intriguing yet unverifiable scenario, which would provide an answer to a question that nobody have asked; Is it realistic that the Hoby prince and Silius would have met in the years AD 14-16?

Conclusion

I have demonstrated here that it is possible to challenge the common perception of Pliny's account of the Northern Ocean among modern scholars. This interpretation has been affected heavily by the displacement of several geographical locations, most notably the location of the *Saevo* Mountain in Norway. As stated above, this has the effect that the entire first half of the narrative must be a description of locations in and around the North Sea. I find this problematic for several reasons. First of all, it is clear that Pliny is describing an area, to which the information is vague and partly related to myth. One piece of information comes from Philemon, who is believed to have been Pliny's youngest source and possibly even part of the naval expedition in AD 5.⁶³ There would be no reason for Pliny to consider this information vague, if it referred to an area, which his most recent source had visited himself, or had gotten a first-hand account of. When it comes to the question of *Baunonia/Balcia* and the reduction of all amber-islands to one, there are discrepancies. For instance, the large island of *Balcia* is actually not related to amber, but is included indirectly, because Pytheas called this island *Basilis*, a name that Timaeus gave the amber-island of *Abalus* from Pytheas' account. Since Pytheas is talking about two different islands, the deduction should perhaps have been that it was Timaeus that got the names mixed up and not Pytheas. That we can draw as firm conclusions from this information, as presented above, I sincerely doubt. I think it is important, once more to draw attention to the fact that only "canonical" explorers and scientist are mentioned by name in Pliny's works. It is important to keep in mind that numerous unnamed sources were used as well. If I may, once again, use the story about the equestrian, who went to the Baltic to get amber, as an example, it is obvious that the story was of sufficient interest to Pliny, as he includes it. Possibly, the fact that a Roman went all the way to the Baltic Sea and back was an unusual one-time accomplishment,

by which, incidentally, Pliny also gets to speak of Nero's extravagance and decadence. Nevertheless, although Pliny tells us that this particular equestrian is still alive, we do not get his name, since he himself is of no importance as an explorer, and would not be recognized by future readers.

Another discrepancy concerns the nature of the *Saevo* Mountain and whether it should be interpreted as a ridge or a peak. I believe that there are sufficient indicators, which point to the first, not least Pliny's comparison with the Ripaeae Ridge and his use of the word "efficit".

One problem is that several of the scholars, who have worked most extensively with this topic, particularly J. Svennung, have been focusing on analysing ancient and modern place names. Therefore, the individual places are in focus much more than the entire context resulting in interpretations, where places and people mentioned in successive sentences, or even in the same, are placed wide apart. In paragraph 4.97, for instance, in one and the same sentence, the River *Vistula*, the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri*, the *Cylipenus* Bay, the island of *Latris*, the *Lagnus* Bay and the *Cimbri* are mentioned, but whereas the four tribes are always placed east of the *Vistula*, the rest are mostly placed in the Danish waters. Furthermore, the four peoples are situated between the *Saevo* Mountain, now in Norway, and the *Vistula* River.

When we look at a map of the traditional modern interpretation of Pliny's text, it is quite clear that Pliny's narrative going from East to West along the northern coast has taken serious damage (Fig. 1). Instead, we go from the Black Sea and straight to the North Sea, then to Norway and by way of Sweden to the Vistula delta and back west to the Danish waters. Ultimately, the only information that we can place in the Baltic Sea concerns a river and four peoples.

Based on these deductions, I must conclude that the *Saevo* Mountain is best identified with the Baltic Ridge stretching from the eastern Baltic region to the root of Jutland, thereby



Fig. 7. A revised interpretation of Pliny 4.94-97 (photo: author).

forming the Codan Bay (Fig. 7). The island of *Scatinavia* was identified as Sweden or one of the regions of Svealand or Scania. As noted above, Svealand and Scania are two very different regions situated 500km apart. With regard to Tacitus' description of the *Suiones*, the link to the *Svear* in Svealand and the common statement that the Romans thought the Scandinavian Peninsula was an island, I believe that it is impossible to unite the three. Tacitus was describing an island society that could not in reality have been something else. If we look at the archaeological evidence concerning Sweden, it is particularly Gotland that stands out with almost half the finds of Roman objects (Fig. 3). Throughout the Roman Iron Age, this island along with Öland and Bornholm appears to have a certain connection to the *Vistula* delta rather than to the rest of Scandinavia. The Scandinavian Peninsula on the other hand appears to have had little contact to the Romans except perhaps through the regions of southern Scandinavia. In other words, the postulate that there should be a special connection from Central Sweden to the Romans through *Germania*, by which a thorough knowledge of their society could have reached Pliny, finds little support in the archaeological evidence. But if *Scatinavia* cannot be Central Sweden, where should we locate it, then? Once again, we have a reference to size, which is difficult

to attribute. Although Gotland seems a good candidate for the island of the *Suiones*, it is situated east of any other islands that could be attributed to the Codan Bay. It is generally agreed that the information on *Scatinavia* came from an eastern source. If we look at figure 3, it is evident that the Roman objects found on Gotland all belong to the earliest phase, probably before the Augustan campaigns. It is not possible to relate these finds to any particular action, but they indicate an earlier contact, which would correspond with an eastern source, while the later western source, the naval expedition did not bring anything new to this part of the North. Another candidate for *Scatinavia* would be Scania, at least when we take the size into consideration, possibly in connection with Zealand. As mentioned above, the other bays may be located without much difficulty, as the southern Baltic coast with Bornholm as *Latris*.

The archaeological evidence of contact between the Romans and Scandinavia leaves an impression that the naval expedition in AD 5 may have had quite an impact. The presence and distribution pattern of the bronze basin E92 indicates that a Roman fleet could indeed have circumnavigated Jutland (Fig. 6). This may find support in Pliny's description, as he is not stating clearly, whether the fleet only sailed up to the tip of the peninsula and returned, or whether they continued. In fact, the fleet probably did not sail all the way up to Grenen, the tip of Jutland. The fact that two bodies of water meet there, makes it a dangerous place to navigate. Instead they would have gone through Limfjorden, the strait crossing northern Jutland. This body of water was navigable until the end of the first millennium AD. This is supported by the location of the B1a gravesite of Byrsted, one of the richest graves containing the E92 and two Roman silver cups, found almost on the bank of Limfjorden. An indirect indication that Romans may have gone by at this time is found in a couple of graves in central Jutland among others at Tornebuskehøj and Tjørring. In these graves there are pieces of textile that

are woven in a very particular Roman style, which creates the *clavus* or band on Roman tunics and togas.⁶⁴ The textile is without a doubt locally produced, but the pattern must have been inspired by Roman clothing. Either the locals observed this within the Roman Empire, or they witnessed it, when a Roman passed their way on an exploratory expedition. As some of these graves are dated to B1a, the best match would be the expedition in AD 5. Based on the location of the E92 in central and southern *Germania* as well as in Gallic élite graves it is possible to connect it to Roman diplomatic advances. This should also apply for the evidence from northern *Germania* (Fig. 6).

If we zoom out to a view of the wealthiest graves from all of *Germania* in the first seventy years AD (Fig. 8), we see that it is possible to identify a number of clusters of Roman interest; in central *Germania* (1) and concerning the *Marcomanni* in Bohemia in the Augustan period (2) and in Moravia in the



Fig. 8. Wealthiest graves from Germania in period B1 (AD 1-70) (photo: after Peška 2002).

Tiberian period (3), a pattern that was also related to the distribution of the basin E92. Furthermore, a line of interest is discernible, which constitutes the amber route along the *Vistula* River from the Baltic coast to

Carnuntum on the Danube.

The reason for these clusters may vary and to some, particularly the *Marcomanni*, we have good literary evidence of Roman political involvement. In the 1980s, the primary motivation was believed to be trade in different forms as suggested, for instance, by J. Kunow or L. Hedeager.⁶⁵ Such an interpretation is supported in some regions by the Roman objects present particularly in the regions near the Roman frontier and along the amber route.⁶⁶ For other regions such as southern Scandinavia, the picture is different. The amount and nature of the Roman objects speaks against regular trade as a means of receiving the goods. Particularly a type of Roman product such as *terra sigillata*, which is found in the regions near the frontier, is absolutely absent at this point of time in the North. In my opinion, it is much more likely that the objects in Scandinavia are a result of diplomatic or military contacts, which would entail the presenting of gifts, of which Roman banquet vessels would have been a substantial part.⁶⁷

This has not been an exhaustive exploration of the ancient sources to the North. I have concentrated on a few key elements presenting a different interpretation of Pliny, which is in line with both Pliny's narrative and our archaeological knowledge of the period. That interpretations like these have not been championed collectively until now seems to have been caused by a more or less inherent acceptance among modern scholars of a hundred year old status quo. Clearly, all interpretations will be challenged by a number of odd elements, but I believe that I have been able to present an interpretation that facilitates a fresh and more coherent view of the Roman knowledge of the North in the first century AD.

Dr Thomas Grane
The SAXO-Institute
University of Copenhagen
tgrane@hum.ku.dk

ABBREVIATIONS

- CRFB, D3 *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Deutschland Band 3, Bundesland Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, Bonn 1998.
- CRFB, D5 *Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum. Deutschland Band 5, Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg und Land Schleswig-Holstein*, Bonn 2004.

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NOTES

- ¹ Grane 2003.
- ² Baldwin 1995, 78; on the encyclopedic nature of the work, see Doody 2010 and Schultze 2011.
- ³ Transl. Murphy 2004, 33.
- ⁴ Murphy 2004, 6.
- ⁵ Murphy 2004, 34, 54, 54 n.8; Sallmann 1971, 171.
- ⁶ Murphy 2004, 135-7; Sallmann 1971, 104, fig. 1.
- ⁷ Svennung 1974, 7-11; Timpe 1989, 337-338.
- ⁸ Hermann 1988, 20.
- ⁹ Grane 2007a, 8-9.
- ¹⁰ Svennung 1974, 10-11; Timpe 1989, 366-367.
- ¹¹ Sallmann 1971, 172.
- ¹² Alonso-Núñez 1988, 53; Lennartz 1969, 65; Timpe 1989, 377.
- ¹³ Hermann 1988, 16-20.
- ¹⁴ Svennung 1974, 24-38.
- ¹⁵ Lennartz 1969, 68-70.
- ¹⁶ Timpe 1989, 365-369.
- ¹⁷ Lennartz 1969, 70; Svennung 1974, 6; Timpe 1989, 366.
- ¹⁸ Ditten 1988, 329; Grane 2007a, 27; Rackham 1961, 193.
- ¹⁹ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Ditten 1988, 565.
- ²⁰ *Contra*: Lennartz 1969, 69; Timpe 1989, 329. *Pro*: Hermann 1988, 19.
- ²¹ Lennartz 1969, 68-75; Svennung 1974, 24-38; Timpe 1989, 365-369.
- ²² Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Ditten 1988, 565-566.
- ²³ Timpe 1989, 377, is of the opinion that the connection between *Saevo* and *Inguaeones* is most likely due to a contamination of Pliny's sources.
- ²⁴ Svensson 1921, 61-62; Svennung 1974, 43.
- ²⁵ Svensson 1921, 63-64.
- ²⁶ Svennung 1974, 42-49.
- ²⁷ Own transl.
- ²⁸ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Lennartz 1969, 72; Ditten 1988, 566; Hermann 1988, 17, Karte 2; Timpe 1989, 367.
- ²⁹ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 55.
- ³⁰ Detlefsen 1904, 31.
- ³¹ Lennartz 1969, 73, 87, 118; Alonso-Núñez 1988, 50; Timpe 1989, 368-370.
- ³² Svennung 1974, 57-61.
- ³³ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Andersson (ed.) 1998, The *Suiones* are only mentioned in the title and nowhere in the actual text; Bergquist 2005, 55; Murphy 2004, 181; Perl 1990, 250; Svennung 1974, 57-61; Timpe 1989, 369.
- ³⁴ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 52; Detlefsen 1904, 31; Lennartz 1969, 73.
- ³⁵ Tac. *Germ.* 46.
- ³⁶ Alonso-Núñez 1988, 53; Ditten 1988, 567-568; Lennartz 1969, 74-75; Svennung 1974, 70-77; Svensson 1921, 94-98.

- ³⁷ Lennartz 1969, 76.
- ³⁸ Lund Hansen 1987, 126, 195.
- ³⁹ Kühlborn 2000, 27-33.
- ⁴⁰ CRFB, D3; D5.
- ⁴¹ There are, however, different opinions about this evidence. See references in Hirsch *et al.* 2007, 58, 61 and footnotes 13 and 16.
- ⁴² Grane 2007b, 86-87.
- ⁴³ Grane 2007b, pl. III.
- ⁴⁴ Lund Hansen 1987, 150. See also appendix 2 for a complete list of site shown on figure 3.
- ⁴⁵ Storgaard 2003, 110-111.
- ⁴⁶ Lund Hansen 1987, 92, 406.
- ⁴⁷ Grane 2007b, 87-88.
- ⁴⁸ Lund Hansen 1987, 45.
- ⁴⁹ Werner 1954, 58-62, List H.
- ⁵⁰ Lund Hansen 1987, 45.
- ⁵¹ Andersson 2001.
- ⁵² Lund Hansen 1987, 125-138.
- ⁵³ Kunow 1983, 173.
- ⁵⁴ Schuster 2010.
- ⁵⁵ Karasová 1998, 24-26.
- ⁵⁶ Hirsch *et al.* 2007, 60.
- ⁵⁷ Böhme 1975, 84-88.
- ⁵⁸ Tejral 1995, 231-233.
- ⁵⁹ Wolters 1990, 40-41.
- ⁶⁰ Hirsch *et al.* 2007, 58, 60.
- ⁶¹ Wolters 1995, 116.
- ⁶² Grane 2007b, 87, note 18.
- ⁶³ Timpe 1989, 366.
- ⁶⁴ Mannering 2012, 95-99.
- ⁶⁵ Kunow 1983; Hedeager 1992.
- ⁶⁶ Wolters 1995, 115-117.
- ⁶⁷ Wolters 1995, 115.

Appendix 1

Translation by the author of Plinius the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 4.94-7.

Latin text: L. Ian – C. Mayhoff (ed.) C. Plinius Secundus *Naturalis Historia* vol I. (Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Stuttgart: Teubner 1967.

94. Exeundum deinde est, ut exera Europae dicantur, transgressisque Ripaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum. insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante Scythiam quae appellatur Baunonia unam abesse dici cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, Timaeus prodidit. reliqua litora incerta. signata fama septentrionalis oceani. Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat a Parapaniso amne, qua Scythiam adluit, quod nomen eius gentis lingua significat congelatum.

95. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, inde usque ad promunturium Rusbeas, ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat. feruntur et Oeoniae, in quibus ovis avium et avenis incolae vivant, aliae, in quibus equinis pedibus homines nascantur, Hippopodes appellati, Phanesiorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioqui corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant.

96. Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Inguaeonum, quae est prima in Germania. mons Saevo ibi, immensus nec Ripaeis iugis minor, inmanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatinavia, incopertae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. nec minor est opinione Aeningia.

94. Now, we must move on to speak about the outer parts of Europe. After we have passed the Ripaeian Mountains we will move along the coast of the northern Ocean on the left until *Gadis* (Cádiz). Several islands without names are reported at this location. One of these, lying off *Scythia*, is called *Baunonia*, one day's voyage away, where amber is washed up by the waves in spring time, according to Timaeus. The remaining coasts are vaguely known. Of established report is the northern Ocean. From the River *Parapanisus*, which washes the coast of *Scythia*, Hecataeus calls it the Amalchian Sea, which means 'frozen' in the language of the natives.

95. According to Philemon it is called Morimarusam by the *Cimbri* (that is 'Dead Sea') from that point and all the way to the Rusbean promontory and then on the other side it is called the Cronian Sea. Xenophon of Lampsacus reports that the island *Balcia* of immense size lies three days' sail from the coast of the Scythians; Pytheas names this island *Basilica*.

It is said that there are islands called the *Oeoniae*, on which inhabitants live off birds' eggs and wild oats, others, on which the humans are born with horses' feet and therefore called *Hippopodes*, others of the *Phanesii*, who have their own huge ears cover their entire otherwise nude bodies.

96. From there on clearer information begins to be available from the race of the *Inguaeones*, who are the first in *Germania*. There the *Saevo* Mountain, which is immense and no smaller than the Ripaeian ridge, forms an enormous bay, which is called *Codanus*, going all the way to the Cimbrian promontory; a bay full of islands, of which the most famous is *Scatinavia*, of unknown size. As large a part of the island, as is known is inhabited in 500 *pagi* by the race of the *Hilleviones*: therefore the island is called another world. No smaller is *Aeningia* according to belief.

97. Quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipenum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris. promunturium Cimbrorum excurrrens in maria longe paeninsulam efficit, quae Tastris appellatur. XXIII inde insulae Romanis armis cognitae. Earum nobilissimae Burcana, Fabaria nostris dicta a frugis multitudine sponte provenientis, item Glaesaria a sucino militiae appellata, barbaris Austeravia, praeterque Actania.

97. Some report that this part all the way to the River Vistula is inhabited by the *Sarmati*, *Venedi*, *Sciri* and *Hirri*, that the bay is called *Cylipenus* and in its mouth is the island *Latris*. Another bay follows, the *Lagnus*, bordering upon the *Cimbri*. The Cimbrian Promontory, projecting far into the sea, makes out a peninsula, which is called *Tastris*. After that 23 islands are known by Roman armies. Of these islands the most famous is *Burcana*, called *Fabaria* by us because of the multitude of pulse growing wild. It is also called *Glaesaria* by the military because of the amber. It is called *Austeravia* by the Barbarians and besides *Actania*.

Appendix 2

List of sites presented on figure 3 with references.

Period A

Hedegård, Jutland, DK: Madsen 1999, 63-74.
Try, Jutland, DK: Kunow 1983, 130
Haarby, Funen, DK: Eggers 1951, 82.
Hoby, Lolland, DK: Eggers 1951, 88.
Kanegård, Bornholm, DK: Eggers 1951, 90.
Stora Bjurum, Västergötland, S: Eggers 1951, 98.
Hjärterum, Östergötland, S: Kunow 1983, 130.
Isaberga, Östergötland, S: Eggers 1951, 97.
Änge, Gotland, S: Kunow 1983, 130.
Lilla Sojvida, Gotland, S: Eggers 1951, 100.
Svie, Gotland, S: Eggers 1951, 99.

Period B1a

Bendstrup Mark, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 406.
Byrsted, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 405.
Hedegård, Jutland, DK: Madsen 1999, 74-83.
Hover, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 407.
Stilling Mark, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 406.
Tombølgård II, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 408.
Tornebuskehoj, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 407.
Balslev, Funen, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 404.
Hoby, Lolland, Dk: Lund Hansen 1987, 403.
Stangerup I, Falster, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 402.

Period B1b

Tjørring, Jutland, DK: Møller-Jensen 2006, 74.
Espe, Funen, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 405.
Favrskov I, Funen, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 403.
Ringe I, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 404.
Knabstrup, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 401.
Tingvold, Østfold, N: Lund Hansen 1987, 431.
Hollsta, Uppland, S: Lund Hansen 1987, 443.
Vämmerlöfstorp, Scania, S: Lund Hansen 1987, 450

Period A/B1

Algutsrum, Öland, S: Lund Hansen 1987, 444.
Martebo Myr, Gotland, S: Lund Hansen 1987, 446.

Period B1

Tombølgård I, Jutland, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 408.
Højby Mark, Funen, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 404.
Kærumgårde, Funen, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 404.
Beldringe, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 401.
Jægerspris, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 453.
Skælskør-egnen, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 401.
Sperrestrup, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 400.
Stenløse, Zealand, DK: Lund Hansen 1987, 400.
Kvåle, Sogn & Fjordane, N: Lund Hansen 1987, 440.
Vaksala, Uppland, S: Andersson 2001, 220; Lund Hansen 1987, 443.